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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the ways in which the Cleveland (Ohio) Hispanic community, made up mostly of Puerto Ricans, has been organizing to increase its involvement in the education of Hispanic youth. In particular, this paper focuses on the past 3 years when new styles of involvement were attempted. This involvement has taken the form of program development, partnership development, and mobilization, which are all focused on cultural sensitivity to the needs of these students, staff training, teaching and advising Hispanic students, funding for scholarships, remedial programs to assist at-risk students, and compiling data about Hispanic students. The paper looks at how Hispanics have identified needs, arrived at policy recommendations, attempted to gain access to individuals and bodies that make educational policy, built community coalitions, and developed their own leadership. These efforts have resulted in consolidation of an educational issues coalition and the creation of a Hispanic Steering Force at a local community college. In addition, the paper explores and analyzes how the positioning of the Hispanic community vis a vis other groups has led to specific positions in its struggle to improve the access of its youth to educational opportunities. (Contains 28 references.) (JB)

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Occasional Paper #9

The Cleveland Hispanic Community and Education: A Struggle for Voice

by
Martha de Acosta

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Introduction

This paper analyzes the ways in which the Cleveland Hispanic[1] community, made up mostly of Puerto Ricans, has been organizing to increase their involvement in the education of their youth. It gives an account of how Hispanics have identified needs, arrived at policy recommendations, attempted to gain access to individuals and bodies that make educational policy, built community coalitions and developed their own leadership. Finally, it analyzes how the positioning of the Hispanic community *vis a vis* other groups has led to specific positions in its struggle to improve the access its youth has to educational opportunities. Cleveland Hispanics began their involvement in education after the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. This paper, however, focuses on the last three years when new styles of involvement were attempted.

Community Involvement in the Schools

Meier and Stewart (1991), in their study of the politics of Hispanic education, state that to influence policy decisions that impinge on equal access to education Hispanics must be able to persuade three decision-making levels dominated by separate groups of decision-makers. That is to say, they must be able to affect "the determination of overall school district policy, the translation of overall policy into administrative rules, and the application of rules and procedures to individual students" (Meier & Stewart, 1991, p. 5). Until recently Hispanic representation in educational policy positions has been extremely low nationwide: "Hispanics have only one-third of the number of teachers that blacks do nationwide, and representation on the school board also lags greatly" (Meier & Stewart, 1991, p. 210).

One way of achieving such influence is by organizing the community. The political process engages community members in identifying, naming and defining their problems, needs, and solutions. They learn "to govern and serve as citizens" (Haymes, 1991). The institutions where organizing takes place are involved in the production of specific types of knowledge. "Community organizing practices...construct or reconstruct knowledge and power with respect to particular social interests and desires" (Haymes, 1991). Consent is created around particular notions, such as "the people" and "the popular" (Haymes, 1991). In the case of the community analyzed in this paper, notions of "Hispanic", "Latino", "Spanish-speaking"

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and "Puerto Rican" are "*derived* from the past but reconstituted in the activities of people who regularly interact together over time" (Eisenhart, 1989, p. 54).

Positioned as they are in specific ethnic, gender and class locations, Hispanics draw on a multitude of popular meanings and articulate them in different combinations in particular contexts. They always face "the possibility of tensions, inconsistency and contradiction within and between sites" (Rattansi, 1992, p. 37). A few examples from the lives of low-income Hispanic women will help to clarify how ethnic, gender and class locations are articulated. Low-income Hispanic women stay close to their neighborhood, interact mostly with other Hispanics, and communicate almost exclusively in Spanish. Religious services, Spanish groceries, dances and community festivals bring to mind the rituals, flavors and rhythms of their land as well as a sense of togetherness. Even within the confines of the Hispanic neighborhoods, traditional values are re-articulated as the women try to make sense of their evolving situations. Although often unaware that they are re-articulating who they are, how they act, and what they think, it becomes clear to them that they have changed when they visit the Island and are told that they live in "a forgetting place", for they have forsaken many of the Island's ways. (Ortiz-Coffer, 1987). Tensions and contradictions arise for women who go back to school in an effort to achieve a better life. New demands on their time, new ways of looking at things affect the relationship with their partners. So as they go through their days, interacting regularly with Hispanics, Anglos and African Americans over time, Hispanic women reconstitute their ethnic, gender and class identities.

The work done by women, men and youngsters to create emergent meanings of being Hispanic are taken for granted by themselves and often not recognized by others. Consequently, little research has been done on reconstituted cultural notions, or the part tensions and inconsistencies of particular positionings play in students' experiences in school, or in the relationship between families and schools. Studies based on cultural typing (Eisenhart, 1989) have raised awareness about the various ways in which students from working-class families or from minority groups can experience difficulty in school (Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Ogbu, 1987). Lareau (1989), for instance, found different patterns of parent participation when she compared professional and working-class communities. Parents who were professionals displayed behaviors congruent with what school staff expected. Working-class parents

initiated less contact, raised more non-academic issues with teachers, felt less at home in their contacts, and were less familiar with the curriculum. Teachers inferred that these parents cared less about the education of their children. Jacob (1984) found that the ways in which students were assisted with homework were statistically associated with variations in performance. Indeed, in a study of middle- and lower-class students in Puerto Rico, she found that families of less proficient students modeled their behavior on school activities, while the families of more proficient students complemented what the children were doing at home. Although these studies start to sort out some of the ways in which culture and class impact on school performance, they run the risk of stereotyping the culture of minority groups, of presenting them as homogeneous and internally consistent (Eisenhart, 1989, pp. 53-54). More research is needed on the variability of student adaptation to schools based on family culture and student relations to peers and staff in schools.

Given the structural constraints and conditions faced by Hispanics in this country and the resources available to them, they developed the following patterns of community organizing: organizational building, partnership development and mobilization. Organization building has been a typical strategy of oppressed or discriminated groups. African Americans have created their own strong institutions as immigrant groups have when they found mainstream institutions inaccessible (Hogan, 1982). Hispanics have followed this model, too. Social organizations, volunteer associations, churches, and neighborhoods developed as they learned how to survive in a new environment. In creating these organizations, Cleveland Hispanics have responded to prevailing economic and political circumstances by drawing new boundaries around the community, by naturalizing cultural differences between them and the Anglos, and by attempting to minimize class and gender differences in favor of a unified notion of community. Partnerships, the links formed between organizations, associations, agencies, business, and industry to achieve common goals, were the next step in community organizing. These partnerships became a preferred resource as individual funding for ventures became scarce. Recently, considerable attention has focused on partnerships between schools and community agencies or organizations, and businesses (Nettles, 1991). Finally, mobilization, the coordination of various individuals or groups around specific social issues, has been used to impact the larger society. Economic and social demands in terms of jobs, education,

health, and the preservation of Hispanic culture have been central issues for the Cleveland Hispanic community. These social issues have defined the goals, the people to be mobilized, the interests likely to oppose them, and the institutional response they are likely to receive (Castells, 1983.)

In this paper, the involvement of the Hispanic community in education is placed in the context of the recent history of Hispanics in Cleveland, the level of resources of the community, as well as the values and beliefs that were affirmed in the organizing process. The organizing of the Cleveland Hispanic community is analyzed as the project of a people learning how to become participants in the political process.

Brief Historical Overview of the Hispanic Population in Cleveland

Hispanic migration to Cleveland and Lorain[2] began in the mid 1940s. The bulk of the migration to Cleveland was from Puerto Rico. According to the 1990 census, 22,330 Hispanics live in the city of Cleveland, representing 4.42 percent of the population. (The Hispanic leadership claims that the 1990 census has undercounted somewhere between 30 and 40 percent of the Cleveland Hispanic population.) The majority of Cleveland Hispanics live relatively close together on the near west side of town.

The Hispanic population in Cleveland is young, the median age for Hispanics (22.5) is the lowest of all race and ethnic groups (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). In the 1990-1991 school year, 4,315 students, 6.1 percent of the total school population, were Hispanic (Education Issues Forum, 1992). Hispanics in Cleveland are poor; over 73 percent of the Hispanic students attending Cleveland Public Schools are below the poverty level (Education Issues Forum, 1992). Cleveland Hispanics have, as well, a low level of educational attainment. In fact, among those 18 years and over, only 20.62 percent have had education beyond high school. Moreover, 24.5 percent have not completed the ninth grade, 30.76 percent have 9th to 12th grade educations but no diploma, and only 24.08 percent are high school graduates (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The overwhelming majority, 90.86 percent, speak Spanish at home, while 18.53 percent do not speak English at all or do not speak it well.

In contrast to other ethnic groups, Puerto Ricans born on the island visit it frequently, a phenomenon known as "Puerto Rican commuting"; ties to town and family remain strong. Furthermore, "a constant, self-replenishing influx keeps providing an ample supply of 'first-generation-ers" (Jennings, 1988, p. 75). This has at least two effects on their children's education: 1) "More than other Hispanics, Puerto Ricans are the most interested in having their children literate in Spanish" (Meier & Stewart, 1991) and, as a result, Puerto Rican parents are very active in movements supporting bilingual education; 2) trips to and from the island affect students' stability in the district—in the Cleveland district, 10 percent move out annually, a rate that is higher than average (Education Issues Forum, 1992).

Hispanics have been unable to elect a member of their ethnic group to the City Council or to the Board of Education, thus limiting considerably their influence on policymaking at those levels. Faced with this powerlessness, they have created their own organizations to serve the community. Among those dealing with educational issues or providing educational services at present, the oldest one is the Spanish-American Committee for a Better Community organized in 1966 (Bonutti & Prpic, 1974). Others are: El Barrio, the Hispanic Parent Association; the Hispanic Community Forum; the Cultural and Educational Institute for Boricua Advancement (CEIBA, the bilingual teachers' association); the Hispanic Cultural Center; the Centro Cultural Julia de Burgos; and Esperanza. Numerous churches provide educational services as well.

The Cleveland Hispanic Community Involvement in Education

In the early 1970s, the Cleveland Public Schools initiated the first programs to improve the participation of Hispanic students in the system by establishing courses in English as a Second Language. It was also in the 1970s that the Hispanic community claimed the school district was not providing "bilingual instruction" for Spanish-speaking students. In 1974, the Supreme Court decision on the *Lau v. Nichols*[3] case required that school districts take action to provide equal opportunity to national origin minority students, but did not mandate bilingual education. As a response to Lau compliance concerns, Hispanic parents formed the Hispanic Parents Union. In 1976 the Cleveland Public Schools sought federal funding for a

bilingual program. In 1978 the Office of Civil Rights charged that the Cleveland Public Schools were out of compliance with the Lau decision. The Action Plan for Lau compliance was made public in 1978 and a task force composed of staff, parents and community leaders was set up to discuss and analyze the plan's implementation (Baez, 1980). The Hispanic Parents Union united with community groups to petition the Board of Education for a bilingual program. In particular, they requested a bilingual bicultural education office, and a parent community center (Cleveland Public Schools, 1987). In 1982 the Board of Education created the Bilingual Multicultural Education Office.

In the 1991-1992 school year the Cleveland Public Schools served 71,662 students. African Americans represented the largest group (69.2 percent), whites were the second largest group (22.8 percent), and Hispanic students the third largest (6.5 percent) (Marsiglia, 1992). Less than 50 percent of the Hispanic students attending the Cleveland Public Schools participated in the Bilingual Multicultural Education Program, where all the bilingual and Hispanic staff work. Students who do not attend bilingual school sites may be proficient in English, yet experience other needs. Marsiglia (1992) explains the struggles of Cleveland Hispanic families:

> Puerto Rican parents who migrated to the mainland and other Hispanic families are the ones who are to undertake the overwhelming task of easing the acculturation difficulties and critical confusion of their children. Puerto Rican parents living in the mainland United States often become very overprotective and rigid with their children because of the lack of support from the outside world and the realistic fears of crime, gang activity, drug addiction, different sexual mores, and different values of American large urban centers (p. 2).

The following data for the Cleveland Public Schools for the 1990-1991 school year, give ample evidence of the reasons for community alarm:

- The average score of Hispanic students in the California Achievement Test was 45.4 percent, which is below the norm or average in reading comprehension. (The California Achievement Test is given to Spanish-speaking students who are identified as proficient in the English language).

- Over 43.5 percent of the Hispanic students tested at or below the 36th percentile.
- Over 49 percent of the Hispanic students have less than 90 percent attendance rate.
- Since 1988, an average of 12 percent of Spanish-speaking students are retained.
- On average, 5.5 percent of Spanish-speaking students drop out when they reach the 9th grade, 10.9 percent in the 10th, 11.5 percent in the 11th, and by the 12th grade, 14.4 percent drop out of school (Education Issues Forum, 1992).

Forms of Involvement

The involvement of the Hispanic community in education has taken the following forms: a) program development; 2) partnership development; 3) mobilization.

Program Development

Faced with structural barriers, Cleveland Hispanics used their own organizations to provide programs for its youth. Among the better known efforts are: the Spanish American Committee which developed job training and English as a Second Language classes; the Hispanic Scholarship Fund which awarded scholarships to high school students; the Hispanic Community Forum which established youth leadership workshops.

Funding for these programs was secured from local and national foundations and the federal government. As the community became more experienced in its relationship with foundations, it began to attempt to have more control over how its people would be served. In a Grantsmakers' Forum held in Cleveland in December of 1991, Hispanic community leaders told foundation representatives that the Hispanic community was to participate in the design of foundation-funded programs to serve Cleveland Hispanics. Community involvement would avoid two drawbacks experienced in the past: (1) funding of programs that were not in tune with what might work best for the Cleveland Hispanic community; (2) repeated requests to small, overburdened Hispanic education and social service organizations for support and assistance once the programs had been funded. Since that December, foundations have been asking proposal writers to demonstrate community participation in the design of programs (K. Wiley, personal communication, October 1, 1992).

Partnership Development.

The Hispanic community has been very active building partnerships. At different times, alliances have been forged between one or more of the following: community organizations, the local school district, Cuyahoga Community College (CCC), and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Partnerships have taken place between agencies or institutions where there are strong, organized groups of Hispanic staff that advocate for the partnerships. These partnerships have resulted in better access to educational resources and have created social support networks for students (de Acosta, 1991).

The following are among the best known partnership efforts: the Stay in School Program (SISCO) run by Esperanza in two targeted schools offers tutoring and social support for 65 seventh and eighth graders at-risk of dropping out; the Key to Excellence for Young Scholars (KEYS) Program at Cuyahoga Community College, a math and science enrichment program for Hispanic students, is a collaborative effort spearheaded by NASA Lewis Research Center, currently serving 75 students; intensive summer classes in English as a Second Language offered by Cuyahoga Community College to Cleveland Public Schools students and to post-high school age population; and a bilingual multicultural career day, a collaboration between Esperanza, Cuyahoga Community College, and the Bilingual Office of the Cleveland Public Schools offering an opportunity for high school students to interact with successful educated Hispanics. Other programs such as Esperanza's mentoring program match Hispanic students with adult mentors who provide social support.

Mobilization

Mobilization around educational issues in Cleveland has brought together individuals, and organizations to work toward impacting the larger society. Two instances of mobilization, conventions and coalition building, are described and analyzed in the following section.

Conventions. In 1984 a convention of the Hispanic community was held for the first time. Under the sponsorship of the Hispanic Community Forum, the community convened annually for the first few years and every two years since 1988. The conventions have provided various constituencies an opportunity to identify needs—in education, social services, and health areas; to voice points of view; and to offer solutions.

The educational issues that have received attention at the conventions have not varied significantly through the years, an indication that the needs of the community have not been met, and that work remains to be done. High on the list of recurring demands are: cultural sensitivity to the needs of Hispanic students, staff training on teaching and advising Hispanic students, funding for scholarships, remedial programs to assist at-risk students, and compiling data about Hispanic students. Quoted below are the educational policy statements of the last convention:

- Hispanic community organizations will invite appropriate representatives of the Cleveland Public Schools, the Lorain City Schools, and the Youngstown City Schools to meet with them on a quarterly basis to discuss measures to improve Hispanic student achievement and minimize the Hispanic dropout rate.
- Hispanic community organizations, the Cleveland Public Schools, the Lorain City Schools, and the Youngstown City Schools will explore means of ensuring that support services such as prevention and intervention, counseling, and tutoring be provided to Hispanic students at all stages in their academic career including the transition from a bilingual program into the mainstream curriculum. Such support services will enhance a student's academic and personal development.
- Hispanic community organizations, the Cleveland Public Schools, the Lorain City Schools, and the Youngstown City Schools and all academic and vocational institutions will explore means of ensuring that principals, teachers, counselors, and support personnel receive adequate and appropriate training to assist bilingual students in bilingual programs as well as those in standard instructional programs.
- Hispanic community organizations, the Cleveland Public Schools, the Lorain City Schools, and the Youngstown City Schools will encourage and support the total family concept and create community school centers where all families may interact with each other.
- A task force made up of Hispanic community organizations and key community individuals who are knowledgeable in affirmative action programs will meet by April 30, 1992. This task force will formulate a plan and take an active stand to ensure that the Cleveland Public Schools develop and enforce staffing patterns

reflective of the district's student population and hire Hispanic teachers, counselors and administrative personnel to work in the mainstream school system.

- Hispanic community organizations will work with local colleges and universities to take measures which support the recruitment and retention of Hispanic students, curriculum and cultural development, and the recruitment and hiring of Hispanic faculty and staff (Cleveland Hispanic Community Forum, 1992).

The policy recommendations arrived at during the 1992 Convention are based on an identification of critical needs. The community is aware that student achievement, attendance, and retention rates are below average for the district. To improve student performance the convention participants made policy recommendations focusing on specific areas. Foremost among them were various ways of increasing cultural sensitivity to Hispanic students, although the convention participants did not define "cultural sensitivity". From their discussion, however, the following themes emerged. School staff and teachers, in particular, should acknowledge the values and beliefs of Hispanic students, and the "multilayered essence of lives lived across languages, contexts, and conditions" (Walsh, 1991). Furthermore, schools should support Hispanic students, a theme that is in accord with the findings of the National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics that showed Hispanic students almost unanimously identified "someone caring" as the most important factor in academic success (1984, p.13), and with the findings of Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko and Fernandez (1990) who concluded that effective schools provide at-risk students with a community of support.

Reliable national research shows that Hispanic parents are deeply concerned about their children's education (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1982). Cleveland Hispanic parents, like many other working-class parents across the country, find it difficult to interact with teachers and principals in Anglo schools. The schools must take the initiative to reach out to parents in ways that respect how Hispanic families have socialized their children. To understand this factor, Delgado-Gaitan's (1992) research is significant. She distinguishes between different models of parental involvement; one teaches parents "a corpus of 'best family practices'. These practices, by and large, imitate the language and learning structures of the school" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, p. 46). A second one includes "parents in decision making (and other) roles within the school infrastructure"(p. 46). A third practice is bi-

directional: schools influence families and communities and they, in turn, have an impact on the school. This last type of involvement, which recognizes the teaching and learning styles that take place at home, is the one implied in the recommendation to broaden the meaning of education from the merely instrumental to "encourage and support the total family concept and create community school centers where all families may interact with each other" (Cleveland Hispanic Community Forum, 1992).

Student retention and promotion are better in the bilingual program than in the regular schools. In 1991-1992 the dropout rate for the district was 18.25 percent, while that for the Eilingual Program was slightly lower (16.4 percent). In that same school year, 12 percent of the students were not promoted in the district, while only 4.9 percent of the students in the Bilingual Program were not promoted (Cleveland Public Schools, 1992). Transition to regular schools is difficult. For many students the transition takes place when they complete the sixth grade. Thus the transition from one program to another coincides with the difficult passage to the seventh grade. The important questions to ask here are how do students construct their concrete school experience, and what is it that makes the bilingual program more welcoming than the Anglo schools. This question can be asked as well of students' experience at the local colleges and universities. One policy recommendation, aimed at the local colleges and universities, also based on the premise that the main obstacle to student retention is a cultural one, urges these institutions to take some of the same kinds of actions requested of public schools. The recommendation to work closely with Hispanic students, to take a preventive approach, to make urban educational institutions less anonymous by having staff who care and know how to work with Hispanic students appears grounded in reality and supported by research.

The policy recommendations are aimed at influencing decision making both at the school board level and at the school building level. Many of the recommendations can be implemented by high school principals. Individuals and community organizations have been using the policy recommendations to gain support for community initiatives and to demand that action be taken by the school district and other educational institutions.

Compared to the resolutions of the first two conventions, three changes stand out:

- In contrast to earlier convention policy recommendations, which had been submitted by individual organizations, the 1992 recommendations were endorsed by the

convention participants as a whole. In an effort to create more community awareness of the needs, to generate involvement, and to mobilize community members, the format of the conventions was changed. Back in 1984, providing a forum to various constituencies was a big step forward. More recently, the forum set up the conventions so that participants had the opportunity to discuss and vote on policy recommendations. An educational issues forum composed of representatives from various organizations interested in education met before the convention to identify issues to be brought to the floor. At the planning meetings held to prepare issues, and at the general meetings where resolutions were discussed, participants related their experience of the conditions of life, and their children's experiences in school, defining those experiences and responding to them.

- The language of the policy recommendations changed from broad goal statements to more concrete descriptions of what the participants expected to be able to accomplish. The policy recommendations included, as well, time frames in which to achieve the desired results. Both changes indicate that the writers felt that the broad goal statements had not led to visible results.
- In the 1992 policy recommendations, for the first time, Hispanic community organizations were repeatedly mentioned as initiators of change. They were presented as agents of change, as vehicles to forge collaborative ventures and as advocates for the Hispanic community.

These three changes in the language of the policy recommendations reflect changes in the ways in which the community has been organizing in the last few years. Organizations have acquired a more visible and active advocacy role on behalf of Hispanic students and collaborative efforts among community organizations are becoming more common.

Coalition Building

A coalition of Hispanic leaders has come forward to represent the community's viewpoints. Two examples will illustrate how this is being accomplished: the consolidation of an educational issues coalition and the creation of a Hispanic Steering Force at Cuyahoga Community College (CCC).

The Educational Issues Coalition. Representatives from various Hispanic institutions interested in education such as Esperanza (the community's educational organization), the Cleveland Diocese, the Hispanic Parent Union, CEIBA, CCC, and Cleveland State University began meeting to identify and define issues to be submitted to the convention. As those issues were defined participants formulated the idea of developing new strategies to influence the school board and the superintendent. Esperanza took the initiative and invited the school board to meet with the community to familiarize them with the educational issues important to Hispanics. Not a single board member accepted the invitation.

When the new superintendent was appointed, both she and the school board were invited to a community meeting. The superintendent accepted the invitation. At the meeting attended by approximately 150 people, the superintendent was briefed on the history of the Hispanic community participation in education. She responded by promising that the Hispanic community would be invited to participate in the task forces that would be formed to provide ideas about school reform. A contact was established with the superintendent. She is now aware of some of the concerns of the Hispanic community and of the active role the community wishes to play in educational change.

The Hispanic Steering Council at CCC. Two years ago, an Hispanic Steering Council was created at CCC. For approximately seven years, a group of Hispanic staff had been meeting to advocate for Hispanic students and staff. Frustrated with their meager accomplishments, a new structure was created with direct access at the vice presidential level (de Acosta, 1991). The new Hispanic Steering Council is made up of CCC staff, community members, and Cleveland State University staff. Several initiatives have resulted from their concerted efforts: renewed commitment for the Annual Bilingual Career Day, the tracking of Hispanic students' progress and retention at the College, and the development of a bilingual component for new students to ease their transition into the institution. This curricular innovation consists of a Spanish language and a social science course taught both in Spanish and English and grounded in the students' cultural traditions. Although it is too early for a final evaluation of the bilingual component, attendance and informal student reports appear to indicate that it is a success.

Conclusion

The involvement of the Cleveland Hispanic community in the education of its youth has occurred in response to their perception of shortcomings of the educational system in the area. This history clearly indicates a new direction in community organizing around issues that those who are actively involved have identified as central. The Hispanic community based organizations are educating a broader segment of the population in mobilization and building coalitions.

The experience of community organizing told in this paper is the story of people getting together and creating culture, making their community stronger by relating their current experiences to previously existing meanings, and developing emerging explanations and frames of reference. Consequently, the account of the regular meetings the community holds has been interpreted as going beyond mere improvement of organizing and leadership skills, encompassing a political mobilization rooted in an emergent culture.

Endnotes

1. Hispanics in the United States come from twenty-three different countries (Bean & Tienda, 1987), each with their own political, social, and cultural history.

2. After World War II many Puerto Ricans moved to Lorain and Youngstown to work in the steel mills. The first large numbers of Puerto Ricans moved to Cleveland in the early 1950s (Bonutti et al., 1974).

3. The *Lau vs. Nichols* Supreme Court decision in 1974 required that school districts "take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency [of national origin minority students]... to open [their] instructional program(s) to these students" (cited in Meier & Stewart, 1991).

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